

10 Polit. Pamph. vol 176.
OBSERVATIONS

On a late

LETTER

To a CERTAIN

Foreign Minister, &c.

S H E W I N G

The *Partiality* of the Letter-Writer in
regard to the *Last* ADMINISTRATION,
and his *Fallacy* in stating the *Nature*
and *Grounds* of the *Present* W A R.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR.



L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in
Pater-Noster-Row. M.DCC.XLV.

[Price One Shilling.]

OBSERVATIONS

On a line

LETTER

To a Certain

Foreign Minister, &c.

THE WIND

The Faculty of the Author-Writer
regard to the last Annual
and his Father in London the Author
and Governor of the British W.A.R.

In a Letter to the Author



LONDON:

Printed for M. Cooper, at the Office in
the Strand, near the Temple.

Price One Shilling.



OBSERVATIONS

On a late

LETTER

To a Certain

Foreign Minister, &c.

S I R,



T being of late, usual with *Ministers* to oblige the Public with *Vindications*, the Town expected, not such a bold Panegyric as yours, on the Conduct of the late *Minister*, but some Sneaking Apology or Palliative, many Weeks before your Letter appeared. But I, who had carefully studied the Complexion of your *Patron*, be-

A 2

lieved

lieved, if ever he condescended to address the Public at all, his Manner would differ from all his Predecessors. I was sure, how obnoxious soever he might be to the Nation, that he would neither bend nor bow ; and that, instead of making any Court or endeavouring to exculpate himself, he would heroically attempt erecting his Throne and displaying his Trophies, at the Expence of those whom he despised while he was in Power.

It seems I was not mistaken, and I confess that I am not a little vain to have exceeded, on this Occasion, all my Acquaintance in the Depths of Penetration and Foresight. And, Sir, 'tis to you that I am indebted for the Secret Pleasure I feel on seeing the Superiority of my Judgment thus confirmed and established. For unless you had drawn your able Pen in praise of the late *Minister*, I should have been undistinguished, and lost in the common Mass of those who thought his Mind would alter with his Circumstances, and that his natural *Intrepidity* would sink into a creeping Deference for the Crew he contemn'd while he steer'd the Bark of State.

I commend your Resolution and revere your Friendship for the Man you esteem ; for whether or no you were in the Confidence of your Hero, 'tis obvious you were

were very much in his *Intimacy*, or you could never so naturally have imitated his Phrase and Diction, as you do in your Letter to Monsieur *D'A——ie*. Methinks I hear that Great Man declaiming among his Equals, when I read your *Preface*, each Line of which glows with his Fire, and speaks his noble Contempt of all the meddling Political Tinkers of the gross Age we live in. How conspicuously have you catch'd his Manner in the following Description of the People and of Ministers; that is, such virtuously-stubborn, unpopular Ministers as himself?

“ The Humour of abusing such as are
 “ intrusted with the Management of public Affairs is, generally speaking, so
 “ strong in this Country, that it is a very
 “ difficult Matter in less than fifty or sixty
 “ Years after a Man is out of Power, to
 “ persuade the People that ever he deserved to be in; more especially if from
 “ the Consciousness of his own Integrity,
 “ he never practised the usual Arts of
 “ Ministers, never courted the Populace
 “ at the Expence of his Understanding
 “ and Dignity, or endeavoured to acquire
 “ an Interest *elsewhere*, but by deserving it.

Here is a Picture of the *People*, which, whether true or false, shews the masterly
 Hand

Hand which drew it ; and that which follows it for the *Minister*, is as like as if he himself had conducted the Pencil, and drew from the Reflexion of his own Person in a Mirrour. The latter Part of it indeed may probably be sneer'd at by our Connoisseurs ; but what of that, *Panegyric* was your Province ; and besides, they who pretend to most Knowledge are not always the most knowing. How do they know but you may say true, when you assert, *that your Patron endeavour'd to acquire no Interest elsewhere but by deserving it ?*—Now for my own Part, I verily believe he did meritoriously *deserve* the Interest he acquired with his R——I M——r : And is it not evident that he did, from the great Reluctance there was in laying him aside, though but for a Season ? Perhaps I may touch more delicately on his great Merit with his Employer, when I come to consider the Body of your Epistle ; but for the present, we will examine him in your Preface only.

“ All Ministers are sure to be ill-treated, but that Minister most who least
 “ deserves it, because when he leaves his
 “ Post, he leaves no Party to cry him
 “ up, or to defend his Conduct.—All
 I can say on this Head is, that the People are Inexcusable in *treating those worst*
 who

who deserve best, and that that *Best* Minister is much to be pitied, who had no Party to cry him up while he was in Power, and none to defend him after he leaves his Post. This Phrase of *Leaving one's Post*, is so peculiarly Ministerial, that I am tempted to think you breakfasted with your Patron the very Morning you wrote this *Elegant Preface*.

“ He who has been anxious only for the Service of his Country, is careless in this Respect, or rather fearless ; for he knows, that however Self-Interested Men may abuse, they can never hurt him.” What Interpretation do you think the Critics put already upon this Part of your Labours? That your *Patron* knows he can't be hurt whilst he has a M——r to stand by him, whose Taste he had so assiduously studied while he was in his Service. But, Sir, be of good Comfort ; for Critics and Commentators are going out of Fashion as fast as *Public Spirit*. And besides, it being true as you say, *That Time and Truth are Witnesses, that sooner or later acquit the Innocent*, you may reckon that your Patron will have *Justice* done him, *fifty or sixty Years hence*, a Term fixt by yourself for bringing conceal'd Worth to Light.

I have

I have but one general Exception to your prefatory Panegyric on your Patron's Administration, which is, that you charge too openly, those who succeed him, with *Disaffection* to the Prince and Royal Family they serve, or with something worse; for you leave the Point so in Doubt and the Dark, not unlike Doctor *Burnet* in a certain Passage on the Great *Nassau*, that your Readers may conjecture what Ill they please of the present Ministers, but are left but little room to think well of them. 'Tis possible you may not have design'd to injure, nor perceiv'd the latent Poison convey'd with your Ink: But that you may atone for your Mistake, and correct it hereafter, if you should attempt another Panegyric, I will first produce your Words in their native Dress, and then present you with a Comment borrowed from Nature, and obviously rising from the Coherence of your own Expressions. — Your *Third* Proposition is,

“ That all Pretences of prosecuting the
 “ War on a new Design, and for better
 “ Purposes, are very dangerous, and ought
 “ to be suspected, inasmuch as such Pretences are calculated to deceive the
 “ People, to betray the Common Cause,
 “ and to introduce a *new System not fit*
 “ *to be openly avowed*, because it never
 “ can upon just and National Principles be
 “ defend-

“ defended.—You took care, a few Pages before, to prepare your Reader, and point out to him those whom you design’d to expose afterwards.

“ A Paper was published here under the Title of *An Exposition of his Prussian Majesty’s Motives*, to which the first part of the following Work was written in answer, and had very probably on the Turn of Affairs that followed, been buried in Oblivion, had it not plainly appeared that some of the Notions insisted on in that Foreign Performance, were really considered as Articles of their political Faith, by some of our greatest Politicians at Home. It was this that induc’d the Author to finish it, and consent that it should be made public, as a full Answer to those new Doctrines, that to please the Patrons of them are now preach’d up as sound Policy in a certain Chapel.

I have been at the Pains of transcribing these Passages at full Length, that you may perceive I am not unwarranted in having taken Umbrage at your Inadvertency in the manner I do. But to give you further Proof of your Uncharitableness, view, in the following Lines, the genuine Sense, at least that which your Readers impute to you, in cooking up these verbose Paragraphs. *The King of Prussia, in his*

B

Re-

Rescript, says, that England has nothing to do with Disputes between the Members of the Germanic Body ; that the Broils in the Empire can't affect the Commerce of the English, nor any other Interest of theirs, and consequently, that if they should be plunged into a vast Expence on account of the Troubles in the Empire, they must impute it to a Bias to the particular Interest of H——r. This Doctrine, you say, has been propagated and receiv'd, this Winter, in the House of C——s, and by the Ministry. But all such Systems are dangerous and suspicious, and so wicked that it is not fit it should be avowed publicly.

Though I intend no Vindication of the present Ministry, who, I assure you, are no Heroes of mine, and that only because they have hitherto done nothing for the People, I cannot however patiently see a Set of *Englishmen* thus openly and promiscuously branded for presuming to differ with the *late Minister* in his System of Politics. Could not you, Sir, find Means to exculpate your *Patron*, without charging his Successors, which *Disaffection* and even *Treason*, with *betraying the Common Cause*, and *introducing a new System not fit to be openly avowed*, implies?

This new System, you say, is indefensible on just and National Principles ; and if it be so, I admit that your suggested Charge against
the

the present Ministers has some Foundation. But I can't conclude from the Reasons you give, that they convict themselves. " It is
 " for this Reason, for I defy any Man
 " living to assign another, *that our present*
 " *upright, wise, and able Ministers*, have
 " in the most solemn Manner, and in the
 " most express Terms, declared by Memo-
 " rials presented at several Courts, that no
 " Alteration of Men will be attended with
 " a Change of Measures; which is so clear,
 " so full, and so unanswerable an Appro-
 " bation of the Principles laid down and
 " supported in the following Sheets, that
 " there seems to be no Reason to apprehend
 " their being ill-received by any Party.

Give me leave, Sir, to tell you that you lay yourself more open in this Conclusion of your Preface, than one would expect from so covered and artful a Pen as yours. It shews, first, that you wrote purely and simply, in order to justify the late Minister; *secondly*, that tho' you pretend your Pamphlet to have been wrote last Summer, 'tis plain it was never thought of till lately; and lastly, that you ground your Justification of your Patron chiefly on the Measures taken by his Successors on his Dismission. No Man ought to find Fault with you for standing up in Defence of one so very dear to you, as your Patron is supposed to be; nor is it of any Consequence to the Public whether

B 2

you

you wrote this Defence in *January* or *September* ; but I take the Whole Nation to be concern'd in enquiring whether the *Declarations* at Foreign Courts, of the present Ministers on the Dismission of your Patron, be such a Justification of his Conduct as should cause a general Silence, and give general Satisfaction.

There is no Part of your Work that points out so evidently the Masterly Hand it comes from, as this adroit Turn you give to a Transaction which became absolutely necessary, and would be so had the late Minister been more obnoxious, or his Conduct less justifiable than it was. We were engaged in a War, and endeavouring to form an Alliance, the better to carry it on. Our Business then being to create a general Confidence, it was proper, it was necessary for our new Ministers to shew a Desire of pursuing the same Measures, and of prosecuting the War on the same Plan that had been formed by your Patron. As the War could not now be dropt without Ignominy, the present Ministers had no Choice left but to prosecute it the best they could ; and to form such an Alliance as may give our Efforts some Chance of Success.

Therefore, Sir, that which you call a full Justification of your Patron's Measures, was a Necessity only, to which his Successors were driven by his precipitate Conduct.

A Fluc-

A Fluctuation in our Councils, and Unsteadiness in our Measures on a Change of Hands, might create a Diffidence in those best inclined towards us, which would be giving the Enemy too great an Advantage. But as the Examination of the first of your three Propositions may probably shew this Matter in a clearer Light than any it can be put in without such an Examination, we will hasten to it before we design'd it.

Your *first* Proposition is, " That the
 " present is a National and not a Party-
 " War ; a War recommended to the
 " Throne by the Voice of the People, and
 " which therefore no Nation that would
 " be thought wise, or wishes to continue
 " free, would charge as a Crime upon a
 " Minister, when in Truth it is a Measure
 " in which they may and ought to glory
 " themselves, as it is strictly speaking
 " their own.

Your other two Propositions are founded on this first, as indeed is your whole Production, which shews your superior Address in throwing Dust in your Reader's Eyes, and drawing a Veil over your Patron's Actions ; for unless you had first presupposed the War to be *a National and not a Party, or rather a Ministerial War*, a Justification of the late Minister, your Patron, would be a vain and fruitless Attempt. You were aware of this, and therefore

fore set out, like a skilful Artizan, with laying the only Foundation on which it was possible to raise the Superstructure you intended.

But, Sir, as I have taken upon myself at present the Province of a political Surveyor of this fair-looking Fabric of yours, 'tis fitting I should examine the *Foundation* before I go further. If that be sound and well laid, it may be presum'd that the rest of the Work is firm and strong, tho' in Appearance it should be irregular and unproportion'd in some of its Parts. But should the *Basis* be found faulty and rotten, it will be needless to examine minutely the upper Part of the Edifice, it being impossible that any Structure raised on a bad Foundation, should be durable or useful.

And, Sir, in order to this Examine, I do agree with you that the Sense of the Nation is best understood by that of the Representatives of the People in Parliament. [a] " It is a very unlucky Consequence of our most unhappy Divisions, " that Foreigners, by attending to our " Party Disputes, are led into wrong " notions about our Constitution. They hear " us talk of the People of *Britain* and of " the *British* Nation, by which we certainly mean no more than in a legal " Sense, the Choice of the People in their

[a] Pag. 4.

— " Re-
pre-

“ Representatives, and the Sense of their
 “ Representatives expressed in Parliament.

A few Pages lower, you put this Point
 in another and stronger Light; and indeed in
 so very strong a View against your first, and
 I may say only Proposition, that it is sur-
 prizing so adroit a Writer as you are al-
 lowed to be, would inadvertently sap the
 Foundation you yourself had laid to raise
 your Pile of *Vindication* upon. [b] “ This,
 “ Sir, is a fair State of the Case; and if
 “ his *Prussian* Majesty has receiv’d any
 “ Intelligence of another Nature, he has
 “ been so far deceived; and this, like many
 “ other Mischiefs, ought to be placed to
 “ the Account of our Party Disputes, to
 “ which if any Foreign Court trusts, it
 “ will be seen to be misled, since the Sen-
 “ timents of the Nation are not to be sought
 “ for among Pamphlets and News Wri-
 “ ters, but from the *Resolutions of the*
 “ *House of Commons*, which is at once the
 “ natural and legal Representative of the
 “ People.

You well knew the Necessity of having
 the *Resolutions of the People* with you, in
 order to maintain your *first Proposition*, and
 therefore bend them to your Purpose every
 now and then; but I shall refresh your
 Memory but with one single Quotation

[b] Pag. 9 and 10.

of

of many I might produce from your Letter. [c] " I am not undertaking either
 " a knotty Argument on the right Side,
 " or attempting to give plausible Colours
 " to what, in my own Conscience I know
 " to be wrong; but I am to shew that the
 " British Nation in general, who by their
 " Representatives in Parliament so often
 " recommended to his Majesty *this War*,
 " &c. were guided by that good Sense
 " which the wisest Nations in *Europe* al-
 " low them.

You see, Sir, that I have granted you all you ask. I admit that the People are best and only known by their Representatives; but take Notice that I make this general Concession in pure Complaisance to you, for I could produce recent Instances where your *Patron* was of another Opinion. I admit likewise, that the Sense of the Nation is best known by the *Resolutions of these Representatives*. But where we differ, and where I fear we shall never agree, tho' the Fault won't be mine, is about those very *Resolutions*. You say that your *First Proposition* is warranted by the *Resolutions of our Representatives in Parliament*; and herein, though you give no great Proof of your Integrity or Modesty, you certainly do of your Skill and Address; for

[c] Pag. 40 and 41.

unless

unless you had set out with this Assertion, all the Dust you intended to fling into others Eyes would necessarily be blown back into your own.—But it is Time to set you right, if you be not wilfully wrong ; at least, 'tis Time to undeceive your Readers, who may have taken for Facts and Reality, things which we are to suppose, you threw out only to see how far your Countrymen wou'd suffer themselves to be impos'd upon.

We need go no higher than the present Parliament for the Sense of the Nation in regard to the present War ; for, as you say, page 9. *Every Body knows that it was chiefly by the pressing this Topick that Ministry was overturn'd.* Meaning, that the late Sir *Robert Walpole* lost his Credit, and Influence, and his Power, by not acting up to the Sense of the Nation in attacking, or at least provoking *France* to declare War against us. We will not then rake into the Ashes of that Minister, whose Memory, in all Probability, will be revered as long at least as your Patron's, but see what happen'd after he had laid down, and just before his Abdication.

His Majesty, in his first Speech to the present Parliament, seems to have had no View of engaging his People in a War but in Conjunction with the *Dutch*; for he was graciously pleased to tell them, “ I have, pursuant to the Advice of my Parliament, “ ever since the Death of the Emperor, exerted myself in the Support of the House “ of *Austria*. I have endeavoured, by the

“ most proper and early Application, to in-
 “ duce *other Powers, that were equally en-*
 “ *gaged with me, and united by common In-*
 “ *terest,* to concert such Measures, as so
 “ important and critical a Conjunction re-
 “ quired, &c.

And I can't help thinking, that the Com-
 mons were of Opinion we shou'd move in Con-
 junction with the *States General*, but not with-
 out them, when they said in their Address
 on this most gracious Speech; “ And in
 “ order to answer these necessary Purposes,
 “ we will grant such effectual Supplies, as
 “ shall enable your Majesty, not only to be
 “ in a Readiness to support your Friends and
 “ Allies, at such Times, and in such Man-
 “ ner, as the Exigency and Circumstances
 “ of Affairs will require, but to oppose and
 “ defeat any Attempts that shall be made
 “ against your Majesty, your Crown and
 “ Kingdoms, or against those who, being
 “ equally engaged with your Majesty by the
 “ Faith of Treaties, or united by common
 “ Interest and common Danger, shall be will-
 “ ing to concert such Measures as shall be
 “ found necessary and Expedient for main-
 “ taining the Balance of Europe.

But for fear you should have any Objecti-
 on to this Address, or that any Qualm should
 remain on so tender a Conscience as yours,
 in regard that your Patron's Party had not
 the Penning it, I will present you with the
 famous Resolution of the 23d of *March* fol-
 lowing, in which Sir *Robert Walpole* or his

Friends cannot be supposed to have had any Hand.

This Resolution, Sir, which was the first good Fruit of Sir *Robert's* Removal, followed upon the Heels of another for *enquiring* into the Conduct of that Minister. And tho' I can't directly charge the Defeat of the *First* on your Patron the late Minister, the whole Nation does not scruple imputing to him, and to him alone, the varying from the Intention in the Second and following Resolution of the House of Commons.

The Commons declare, " that, as the late
 " favourable Turn of Affairs affords reason-
 " able Grounds to hope, that if the Queen
 " of *Hungary* is timely and properly assisted
 " by those Powers who are engaged by *Trea-*
 " ties, and bound by Interest to support Her,
 " the Ballance of Power may be again re-
 " stored, and the Tranquillity of *Europe* re-
 " established; this House will therefore pro-
 " ceed with Unanimity, Vigour and Dis-
 " patch, to support his Majesty in all such
 " Measures as shall be necessary to attain
 " these great and desirable Ends, &c.

It is perceivable by this Address, beyond a Possibility of mistaking the Intention of the Commons, that the Principle and Foundation they went upon was relative to those other Powers, engaged by Treaty and bound by Interest; without whom it was never intended we should proceed to such dangerous Lengths as your Patron went soon after. The Commons not only declare their Wil-

lingness to support the Cause of Liberty, but advise how to pursue it; that is to say, *if those Powers, who are equally engaged by Treaties, and bound by Interest*, would concur with us as far as they were able. This was the Principle on which the Resolution was founded: It could have no other. The very Phrase and Language of it speak this Sense of it; and I appeal to your own Heart, Sir, if it was not the Sense of all who gave it an Affirmative. That it was the Sense of the Court, is plain from the Earl of *Stair's* Embassy to *Holland* soon after this Resolution; and that it continued to be that of his Majesty, seems to appear from his Speech at the Conclusion of that Session, 15 July, 1742.

“ The Successes which have attended the
 “ *Austrian* Arms in *Germany*, the Conjunction of the King of *Sardinia's* Forces with
 “ those of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*,
 “ THE PRESENT FAVOURABLE DISPOSITION OF THE STATES GENERAL AND
 “ OF OTHER GREAT POWERS, are, under
 “ God, chiefly owing to the generous Assistance
 “ afforded by this Nation, to it's ancient and
 “ natural Allies. And let me say, it was the Sense of even your own noble Patron before some *secret Motive* induced him, either to put a different Construction on the aforesaid Address of the Commons, or to be indifferent whether he shaped his Conduct by their Intentions or not. What was the Purport of Lord *Carteret's* Errand to the *Hague* the *September* following, if not to make a *dernier Effort*, when Lord *Stair* fail'd, of per-

suading the *Dutch* to concur in the sanguine Measures of your Patron, which he dreaded the Commons at their next Meeting would disrelish, as being repugnant to their Resolution and Intentions ?

The Words of their Resolution evidently speak their Intentions ; and their Assurances of *Vigour and Dispatch in the Support of his Majesty in all such Measures as shall be necessary to attain these Great and desirable Ends*, can be understood only, that such Measures should be in Concert with *those Powers, who are equally engaged by Treaties and bound by Interest*. *Holland* was one of those *Powers*, and the Chiefest of them ; but the Ministry, and your Patron particularly, gave Hopes of *Russia*, and insinuated that *Prussia* was already secured. I am sure it was never imagined by P——t, nor I dare say by any Set of Men in the Nation, that we alone, without the Aid of these Powers, and of the *Dutch* more especially, should engage and carry on, at our sole Expence, the Re-establishment of the House of *Austria*. The very Supposition would, at that Time, have been treated as an Extravagance that did not deserve an Answer.

But to elucidate this Point further, we have seen a Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons on the first of *April*, grounded on and repeating the most essential Words of their said Resolution of the 23d of the foregoing Month, asking an extraordinary Supply to answer the Ends express'd in it.

And

And the House accordingly agreed to grant his Majesty 500,000 *l.* to enable him to concert proper Measures for such Alliances, or enter into such Engagements with other Powers as his Majesty shall judge necessary for the Support of the House of Austria.

It is not doubted that the Parliament intended the Support of the House of *Austria*; but it is evident from the Resolutions, Speeches, Messages and Addresses which I have taken Notice of, that it was never the Intention to embark the Nation in a War against the greatest Power in the World, without first securing such an Alliance as might give us a Chance of Success; without the Concurrence of *those Powers, who were equally engaged by Treaties and bound by Interest*, to support the House of *Austria*.

Yet, Sir, though this Consequence be natural and obvious to a Demonstration, we find you not only asserting the direct contrary in your first Proposition on which you build; but in almost every Page throughout your Letter. In page 42. you roundly assert, that *your Patron found his Instructions in the Addresses of Parliament*. But the whole Paragraph, as it contains some fine strokes of Panegyrick on the noble E—l whose Defence you have undertaken, merits the Attention of the Curious.

“ When the Queen of *Hungary* was at-
 “ tacked, when a Combination to strip her
 “ of those Territories, in the Possession of
 “ which the *Faith of this Nation* was given
 “ that

“ *that She should be maintained, What could*
 “ *we do less than we did ? Or what must*
 “ *all Europe have thought of us if we had*
 “ *refused to comply with our Engagements ?*
 “ *That there was a Slowness in doing this,*
 “ *I have already observed, was the chief*
 “ *cause for over-turning the late Administra-*
 “ *tion ; and it is a point of Justice due to*
 “ *a great Man then at the Head of the Op-*
 “ *position, and lately at the Helm of our Af-*
 “ *fairs, that he has been perfectly uniform*
 “ *in his Conduct, that he has done in Power*
 “ *what he declared to be Right when out ;*
 “ *and that in this respect he has set his Pro-*
 “ *bity on the level with his Parts, and shewn*
 “ *himself at once an honest and an able*
 “ *Minister.* This, I say, is a piece of Ju-
 “ stice that his Enemies cannot deny him,
 “ and in this he has shewn himself truly a
 “ Patriot. He caught his Affection for the
 “ House of *Austria* from the Voice of the
 “ People, they avowed the Interest of that
 “ House and the Interest of this Nation to
 “ be the same ; and therefore whatever the
 “ Fate of the War may be, they never can
 “ disavow him or his Measures in this re-
 “ spect. His Instructions are to be found in
 “ the Addresses of Parliament, and if they
 “ were dictated to him by the Crown, the
 “ Crown was first advised to them by the
 “ Nation.

I chose not to curtail or mangle this pom-
 pous Paragraph, but to return it to you intire,
 because it includes not only the whole of
 the

the *Justification*, but the *Panegyrick* of your great *Patron*; and it would be unpardonable for an humble *Observer* as I am, to suppress the greatest Beauties and finest Strokes of an Author, *whose Parts do honour to the Age and Nation, and whose Probity is on the Level with his Parts*. But, Sir, though I am inclined to pay all Veneration to your Self and your Patron, on account of your and his exalted *Parts* and *Probity*, I must stand excused for making a few cursory Remarks on this Flower of all your Lucubrations.

“ When, you say, the Queen of *Hungary* “ was attacked, when a Combination was “ formed to strip her of those Territories, “ *in the possession of which the Faith of this* “ *Nation was given that she should be main-* “ *tained*, what could be done less than we “ did?” — I fear, Sir, that you strain here the point of our Guarantying the *Pragmatic Sanction*, much farther than was intended by either the Crown whose Act it was, or by the Parliament that had approved of it, or was expected even by the late Emperor *Charles VI.* at whose request the Guaranty was enter’d into. It could never, Sir, be expected by the Court of *Vienna*, at that time or since, that we *alone* should take upon us to *maintain the Heiress of Austria in the Possession of her Territories*. It could never be the Intention of his Majesty, who directed the Treaty, and sure I am, it never was that of the Parliament. There are no Words in
the

the Instrument of Guaranty that express any such Intention, or even imply it ever so distantly or obliquely. And, Sir, 'tis pretty extraordinary that you should take upon you to put a different Construction on that Treaty, from his Majesty, the Parliament, and the late Emperor *Charles VI.* and even all *Europe.*

I am very willing, Sir, to own along with you, that Guarantying the *Pragmatic Sanction* was the Interest as well as the Act of the Nation, as well as of the Crown; and I also wish as you do, *that we may cease to be a Nation whenever we hesitate at performing what the Faith of the Nation has been pledged to perform!* But I don't understand, by any means, that the Nation lies under Obligation of performing more than is stipulated to perform, more than was expected or intended we should perform, more, in short, than we were or ever shall be able to perform.

I have shewn you, Sir, that the present Parliament understands our Guaranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction* differently from you, and indeed from your *Patron*, who seem'd to have understood it as you affect to do. The famous *Resolution* of the 23d of *March*, on which alone your *Patron* ought or can pretend to found his Conduct, proves to a Demonstration that this Parliament never intended that we *alone* should take upon us to *maintain the Queen of Hungary in the Possession of the Territories left her by the Emperor*

her Father.——And tho' you affect it, yet sure you can't have forgot the exprefs Words of that Memorable *Resolution*, the Measure by which your Patron was to have shaped his Conduct, that *Resolution* which was the boasted Fruit of the Victory obtain'd by the *Opposition*, which you say was *headed by your Patron*? But lest your Memory, like that of other great Wits, should fail you, I will be at the Trouble of a Repetition: “As
 “the late favourable Turn of Affairs affords
 “reasonable Grounds to hope, that if the
 “Queen of *Hungary* is timely and properly
 “assisted, BY THOSE POWERS WHO ARE
 “ENGAGED BY TREATIES AND BOUND
 “BY INTEREST TO SUPPORT HER, the
 “Ballance of Power may be again restor'd,
 “&c.

You might have perceived, Sir, if you had not wilfully shut the Eyes of your comprehensive Understanding to all Perception that made against you, by the exprefs Words of this *Resolution*, that the Parliament had no Intention to attempt the Support of the Queen of *Hungary* without Allies. 'Tis obvious that the Commons had formed no more than bare Hopes, even if assisted by *those Powers who were engaged by Treaties and bound by Interest*.

But, Sir, it seems that your Patron, naturally intrepid and adventurous, was *secure* of the Success of our Arms *alone*, whereas the Commons were so modest as to *hope* only, and that too conditionally, that *many other Powers*

Powers would assist us. I don't wonder you should call your *Patron* an *able Minister*; for sure he must have thought himself such, when he ventured *seeing farther* and *hoping more* than the whole Nation, comprehended, as you yourself say, in our Representatives. It can't be doubted that your *Patron* thought himself *wiser* than the whole Nation, when he could attempt *alone* the Support of the House of *Austria*. But 'tis not quite so clear that the Nation have Reason to conceive the same favourable Opinion of his *Wisdom*. Had the War been even successful, we should have little Reason to thank or rely on the Judgment of a Minister that plung'd his Country in a desperate Undertaking, one above her Strength, and one she never intended or assented to, but with the Assistance of the *Powers bound and interested in the Cause* as well as we. But sure, Sir, you can't be so partial to expect we should revere and cry up the superior *Parts* or *Wisdom* of your *great Man*, whose Self-sufficiency has cost us so many Millions extraordinary and to so little Purpose? Sure, he himself can't raise his Vanity to so very extravagant a Pitch, as to think his Country indebted to him for involving her in an *unsuccessful War* against the Intention, nay against the Letter of the *Resolutions* of Parliament?

Your great Man, lately at the Helm of our Affairs, you say, has been perfectly uniform in his Conduct, having done in Power what he declared to be right when out.—Pray Sir,

be so kind to the Public in your next Defence of your *Patron*, as to point out the particular Time during his *Opposition*, when he advised the Support of the House of *Austria* with all, and more than all our Force, if I may be excused the Expression, *alone and unassisted by other Powers bound and concerned as well and much as this Nation?* He might and did often inveigh against a late much greater Man than himself, and let me add a much h—r, however agreeably you are pleased to display your Talents in praise of his *Probity*, for a *Slowness*, as you phrase it, in the Performance of our Engagements; but, Sir, he never ventured, because he would be ridiculed by Mankind if he had, to say or so much as insinuate that we should attempt *alone* bearing the Queen of *Hungary* above her Enemies. He never dared in an Assembly of his Equals suggest any thing so absurd and ridiculous.

If then, Sir, your *Patron*, while he opposed, had never recommended or suggested that his Country should embark in a War against *France* in favour of the House of *Austria* without the *Dutch and other Powers, bound and interested as well as England*, how has his *Conduct been uniform?* Out of Power, 'tis certain he never maintain'd an Hypothesis so absurd and untenable; but he no sooner got into Power, but he not only maintains it, but puts it in Practice. Sure, Sir, you mistook your Subject, when you made mention of the *Uniformity of your Patron's*

Patron's Conduct in and out of Power. You must have unheeded what your Readers might and would say of your *great Man's* Conduct on Reading this Passage. And really, Sir, the Defender of such a Cause and such a *Patron* as yours, should be extreamly cautious, what Openings he gave to an *Observer* or *Answerer*.

You might have paraded concerning your *great Man's* Parts, in General, and even might descend to Particulars ; for Instance, you might have said he was a bold and a ready Speaker, without being a finish'd Orator : That he had a quick Conception, tho' not the clearest nor deepest : That he had a Knowledge of Books without being a Scholar ; and of Men, by judging of the Hearts of all others by his own : That he was expert and ready at Business, without being either at the *Pen*, tho' so necessary to one in his Station. I won't say of him what King *Charles II.* was heard to say of one of his S——s, that he could not Write, because, Sir, 'tis possible that this very *Production* of yours might be brought in Proof against me ; but till now, it was not known nor supposed that his *Pen* was equal to his *Tongue*, which is without exception the supplest, smoothest and most ductile in the Nation.

In respect to the *Uniformity of his Conduct in and out of Power*, you say, *he has set his Probity on the Level with his Parts.* Now, Sir, what can a modest Man say to all this ? We have drawn an imperfect Sketch of your
Patron's

Patron's *Parts*; and without doubt it will be expected we should say somewhat of his *Probity*. *Hic labor, hoc opus*. 'Tis certain that we can say but little in favour of your Great Man's *Probity*, if we are to measure it only by the *Uniformity of his Conduct in and out of Power*, the Standard which you yourself have set. Shall we judge of it then by the precipitating his Country into an onerous and dangerous War as soon as he came into Power, tho' he never suggested before, that she should engage without the *Dutch and other Powers equally bound and interested*? Shall we judge of it by his having gone such expensive and perplexing Lengths, against the Intention and express *Resolutions* of the Representatives of the People? Shall we judge of either that or his *Parts* by his Success any where but in the *Closet*, where his Tongue avail'd him more than his Pen?

To tell you Truth, Sir, I find my self much at a Loss in stating properly the Account of your Patron's *Probity*. I would not willingly charge any Article to his Account, nor give him Credit for any I thought did not properly belong to him. For as I scorn wronging him or any Man, by an Overcharge in the Debit of his Account, I should not care to wrong my own Judgment in giving him Credit for more than was his Due. But for your Satisfaction and my own, who am inclined to do Justice to your Patron's exalted Merit, I don't care if I attempt obliging our common Readers with such an Abstract as my Memory will help me to, without

looking over the Volumes which were wrote on both Sides during the *Opposition* and since.

But before I enter on this Disquisition it will be necessary that we settle the Meaning of the word *Probity* in the *Ministerial* Sense, that alone being the Sense in which we are to consider the *Probity* of your Patron at present. Among the *Latin* Writers, *Probitas* implies the same with *Integritas*, is sometimes put for *Æquitas*, and very often for *Virtus* in general. I need not tell you then, Sir, that are so deep-learned, how very extensive a Meaning this Word *Probity* has in our Language. You are not ignorant that it means Integrity, Honesty, Justice, Goodness, Compassion, Goodnature, Moderation, Modesty, Virtue, Sincerity, *cum multis aliis*, in private Life; and I should think you must know its Meaning in a public one, since you assure us in your Encomium of your Patron, that he abounds with it. We must suppose then that you intended it should be understood of your Great Man that he was honest, moderate, just, compassionate, modest and sincere in his public and ministerial Capacity, *Probity* signifying all these in public Life.

What if I should, for the present, drop my intended State of the Account of your Patron's *Probity*, and take it from the Approbation and Disapprobation of his Ministerial Conduct, by the Public? I don't see but Justice may be done him this way, as well as by stating a long Account of *Merits* and *Demerits*.

merits. For, besides that the *Vox Populi* is seldom known to vary from the *Vox Dei* in any Country, I don't remember an Instance in our History, where a Minister was publickly hated that was good for any thing but hanging; or publickly belov'd that was not good for every thing.

Now, Sir, if we are to try your Patron's *Probity* by this Touchstone, will it turn out of a pure or base Alloy? Will it stand the Test, think you, before the unerring Tribunal of the People? I fear not, because I don't remember to have read or known of a Minister so generally and universally disesteemed, I won't say hated and detested, as your Great Man, *whose Probity*, you say, *he has set on the Level with his Parts, and shewn himself at once an honest and able Minister.*

I own there was not much Expectation of him before he came into Power, it being surmised that he was of a Character not altogether suited to the Ministerial Function in a Free Nation, where a Minister should look upon himself and always remember that he was the Servant of the People. Even while he shined in the *Opposition*, he was no Favourite with the Public like the other Principal Opponents, tho' he was as useful on that Occasion as most of them. And how came the *Public* to take a Dislike to him, but because they saw thro' him? They saw that he opposed purely to push his way to *Power*, which they foresaw he would abuse much more than the Minister he opposed.

I don't know whether one so warmly attached to the late Minister as you seem to be, will judge favourably of the Judgement of the People in this Instance ; but for my own Part, I can't help looking upon it as Infallible : And let me add, that I never knew the Public Mistaken if left to themselves, or continue long so, even when hurried from themselves by Art and Deceit.

But whether or no you will admit the Public to be right in their Prejudice to your Patron, you won't sure, you can't, deny that the Prejudice of the Public was stronger against him than any Minister since the Restoration, and I might say since the Conquest. I don't know a Friend he had in this united Nation ; and I am sure he had none in a Neighbouring Island, if one may be judged by common Fame, who, tho' not Infallible, is seldom mistaken on such like Occasions. Let it be understood that I mean Friendship in his ministerial or public Capacity only. I have nothing to do with either his or any Man's private Life, Capacity or Friendships.

We will go farther, and venture to say, that there was not a Man of Sense in the King's Dominions, except such few as received immediate and private Benefit by his Measures and Conduct, that did not wish and desire his Removal from the Cabinet. He has experienc'd that the *Representatives* of the People not only wish'd it, but desired, and as good as insisted upon his *Eloignement*

E

from

from the Ministerial Stage. And, Sir, you yourself have taught us that we should look for the whole Nation in their Representatives.

By your own Rule then, in which I acquiesced already, we must look upon the Prejudice to your Patron to be general and universal. The whole People have caught it ; and why, but because it was thought he had signally diserved the Nation ? This national Prejudice is not contracted in regard to his private Capacity, with which the Public have nothing to do, and as little to say : It must then be relative only to his Public or Ministerial Capacity, as being that only in which the People have any Concern.

Taking it then for granted, (which, Sir, be you whom you will, whether Peer or Commoner, you cannot but grant, unless you fly in the face of Truth and the whole Nation,) that your Patron was universally disesteemed while he was in Power, is it not natural to conclude that he must have done something, been guilty of some Crime, committed some very gross, flagrant Mistake as a Minister, that had brought down upon him this general Odium ? And what can this be, but his plunging the Nation into a War without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*, our natural Allies ; and without securing them, and *other Powers bound and interested as well as we*, before he would venture provoking *France* beyond all her Patience ? Was it not for slighting the Mediation of *Prussia*, when

we might have had a safe Peace, and forcing him into the Arms of *France*? Was it not for involving us in an unequal Expence without any Prospect of Advantage? and steering by the *H-----r* Rudder in all Instances and Occasions?

Tho', Sir, you are pleased to pass your Word, that it is not your Way to [a] *exaggerate things*; that *you don't follow the modern Fashion of magnifying*; and that *you don't write in the new Style*; I think it however necessary once for all to make you here a short Confession of my political Faith, that you may not suspect me of Disaffection to his Majesty or his Government, nor a Friend to *France* or the Pretender. Perhaps I had never thought of publishing the Symbol of my Politics in the manner I do, if a Friend who came to see me, and is now at my Elbow, had not put me in mind of the Danger of expressing my self as I do above, in regard to *France*. " Don't you consider, said he, it is War-Time? that we are at open " Enmity with two of the three Branches of " the House of *Bourbon*, and upon no good " Terms with *Prussia*; and that the Reception which the *Letter* you answer, met " with, was, because the Author expresses a " hearty Hatred to *France*, and no Good-will " to *Prussia*? Can you forget the Energy of " the following Words, or how they took " with the Public, *We hate her* [*France*] " *it is true; but that we do hate her, who* " *can wonder?*

I hate, Sir, the Ambition and Perfidy of *France* as much and heartily as you do, or your Patron can ; but let me say, that if we had not had many Ministers of the Character and Complexion of your Great Man, we might despise *France*, but should have no Reason for hating her. Hatred between Nations, implies Superiority ; and had we not been monstrously ill served by most of our public Servants for near a Century, *France* would not have had that *Superiority* over us, which is the Object of our present Hatred.

The next Article of my Creed regards his *Prussian* Majesty, whom I confess to love and esteem, in an Opinion that he is by Inclination a good *Protestant* and a good *Englishman*, and that his late and present Conduct is owing to Mistakes in our own, and to a fatal Partiality to an Interest we have nothing to do with. As these must be deem'd indubitable Proofs of the Rectitude of my Religion, Loyalty and Patriotism, by the unbiass'd and unprejudiced, I will stop here and proceed to my intended Purpose ; which was to shew, that the public Prejudice to your Patron, had not, could not be so general as it was and still is, if he had not misbehaved in his ministerial Capacity ; that this Misbehaviour can be relative only to his Precipitancy in involving us in a dangerous and expensive War without proper Allies, and against the Intention and express Words of our Representatives ; and that he consulted more private *Gratification* and a *Foreign Interest* than
the

the Honour, Interest and Safety of this Nation.

If the Nation believe these Things of your Patron, can you wonder at the Universality of the Prejudice to him? And is it probable that these Things should be believed of him if they had not been true? Sir, flatter not yourself, *that because your Patron did not court the Public, is the Reason that he falls less lamented than some others have.* No, Sir; his Unpopularity proceeds from quite another Cause than his not courting Popularity. He is not popular, because 'tis visible to the whole Nation, that his whole Attention was employ'd how to acquire an Interest in a *certain Place* without deserving it of his Country. He falls, Sir, not *less lamented than others*, but with the Approbation of all Mankind. And if any do *lament*, 'tis that he is not farther from the R—l E—r, and that there is a Probability that he may appear once again in the Management of Affairs. The Nation dread the sudden Return of his Power and hostile Schemes.

You may, Sir, as you have before, or he himself may say, *that he is careless what the Public say or think of him, or rather fearless, for he knows, that however Self-interested Men may abuse, they can never hurt him.* Sir, if he had follow'd Instructions, and *that his Instructions are to be found in the Addresses of Parliament*, he has nothing to fear; he cannot be hurt, nor would
it

it be in any Man's Power to abuse him. But 'tis because his Conduct is authorized by no Address of Parliament, that he was universally disesteem'd and———. But you say, *if his Instructions were dictated to him by the Crown, the Crown was first advised to them by the Nation.*

To this I answer, that if the Addresses and Resolutions of the Representatives of the People don't point out such Advice, it cannot be said that the Crown was first advised to the Instructions, which you say were afterwards dictated to your Patron. I don't know what Instructions he had, or by whom dictated; but sure I am, that no Resolutions of the House of Commons or Lords either, instruct him to act as he has done: Nor do I think, Sir, with Submission, that there can be greater Indignity offer'd to these August Assemblies, than asserting as you do, that your Patron's Instructions for involving this Country in a ruinous War, *alone and without the Dutch and other interested Powers*, are to be found in the Addresses of Parliament.

I shall only observe on this tender Part of my Subject, that it was said of another daring Minister in the last Century, that he had found Means to advise, or rather suggest the *Instructions* by which he acted, and for which Actions he paid dearly. But you need be under no Pain for your Patron, *his Instructions being*, you say, *to be found in the Addresses of Parliament.*

But,

But, to be serious, did you forget looking back into the *Addresses of Parliament* when you wrote this *Vindication of your Great-Man's Conduct*? Or did you remember how far these public Resolutions were against you, and thought that Instructions from the C——n were equal or rather superior to them, and would bear you out? A fatal Delusion, which our Constitution does not support. Or again, did you suppose the Nation to have drank as large Draughts of the Waters of *Lethe* as of *Corruption*, and therefore would forget the *Resolutions* of their Representatives? We are, 'tis true, become shamefully corrupt of late Years; but you might have seen, in many late Instances, that we are not as Forgetful as we are Tame and Passive.

And now, Sir, that I have shewn from the clearest Evidence, that your Patron had not his Instructions from the Resolutions of P——t, you may borrow them from whom you will. 'Tis equal whether he had them from H——r or St. *James's*; for unless they are, as you say, *to be found in the Addresses of Parliament*, your *first Proposition* falls to the Ground. They are not to be found among those Parliamentary Warrants, therefore allow me to say *that the present is not a national War*, which is the *Basis* on which you built all your pompous *Vindication*,

You say the War is not a *Party War*; and I believe you, because it is solely the War of your *Patron*, who never had a Party in his

his Life. How could he have a Party that never wore the least Disguise of Virtue? But here let me say in Praise of your Patron, that whatever he may have done in the *Closet*, he did not put on the Veil of *Hypocrisy* any where else. He behaved in Power as it was expected he would while he oppos'd; and I know of no Man that was mistaken in him except a certain KNIGHT, who we are to suppose foresaw his Re-admission to Power and Influence.

But though the War be neither a *National* nor *Party* War, we are not at a Loss for its proper Appellation. A late Great Man called our *Spanish* War the C-----r's War, and very unjustly, it being certain that it was the Nation's War. But our present *French* War bears no other Stamp but that of the *Secretary's* Seal. The hopeful Offspring is visibly your Patron's; all its Features resemble the bold, adventurous, daring Parent. If it succeeds, he alone is entitled to all the Glory; and of Course, if it fails, the Infamy is all his own. But alas! how jejune is the Comfort to a bleeding Nation, that your Patron should be cover'd with Confusion for having wantonly plung'd his Country into an expensive, consuming, successful Land-War?

“ As Auxiliaries therefore, you say, to
 “ the Queen of *Hungary*, we acted as be-
 “ came us; and that we are now Principals
 “ in the War, is because it is our own In-
 “ terest; and we fight for ourselves; so that
 “ the

“ the War is now *our own*, and we assist
 “ the Queen of *Hungary* because her En-
 “ my is ours.” ’Tis not doubted that the War
 is now become *our own*, and we fight for
 ourselves as well as the Queen of *Hungary*:
 Nor is it less certain that we are now become
Principals instead of *Auxiliaries*, as we were
 when your Patron first took the Helm in
 Hand. But the Question is, by what Au-
 thority did he so metamorphose us into *Prin-*
cipals; and whether, as *Auxiliaries*, we
 might not have been as useful to our Ally,
 and obstructed the Views of *France*?

I have shewn that the Parliament did not
 intend we should become *Principals* in the
 War, unless the *Dutch* kept an equal Pace
 with us; I have shewn that the Commons
 had no Notion of attempting the taking down
France but in Concert with powerful Allies.
The Balance of Power, say they, *MAY be*
again restor’d, and the Tranquillity of Europe
re-established; but ’tis no otherwise to be done
than by the Queen of Hungary’s being timely
and properly assisted BY THOSE POWERS
 WHO ARE ENGAGED BY TREATIES, AND
 BOUND BY INTEREST TO SUPPORT HER.
 It is notorious then that we have attempted
 this *Herculean Work* without being assisted
 by the *Dutch*, who are here livelily painted
 by the Commons; nor is it less obvious that
 the Attempt was made without the Parlia-
 mentary Authority with which you endea-
 vour to cloath your Patron.

F

We

We have hitherto, and I am heartily sorry for it, made no Progress as *Principals*; let us see what Prospects we had of succeeding if we had remain'd as *Auxiliaries*; and if it will appear that we might have prejudiced *France* more by not pushing her as far as we did upon your Patron's Scheme, I hope you will agree that however he may deserve the Epithet, *Honest*, he has no Pretension to be deem'd an *Able* Minister. Your Great-Man had scarce elbow'd his Predecessor out of the Cabinet, when he form'd the Project of forcing the *Dutch* into his hostile Plan. To this End were Troops sent to *Flanders*, and Lord *S---* dispatch'd to the *Hague*. But yet though he found the *States General* immovable, he still pursued his Scheme; and why? not that he hoped to succeed, but to ingratiate himself where he was sure he was an unwelcome Guest.

His Predecessor's favourite Scheme of foreign Politics was to reduce the House of *Austria*; 'tis by that he rose to Power; 'tis by continuing it that he maintain'd his Influence. But as this Scheme was well nigh worn out, your *Patron* was under a Necessity of forming a new one, out of which he might find Means to render himself of equal Importance to the Throne, and derive equal Advantage from the People.

This new Scheme was to tread back the expensive Path we had journey'd in ever since the Accession; that is, to re-establish the House of *Austria*, which we had been first

and principally instrumental to pull down. 'Tis not disputed but the Policy of reducing the House of *Austria* was nefarious and unnatural, repugnant to the Interest of *England* and that of all *Europe*, except *France* and *H—r*. But the Project of re-establishing that decay'd House by our own single Strength, was a, towering Frenzy. If your Patron was in earnest, it was Madness; since the Grand Alliance could scarce accomplish what *England* then ventured upon alone: And if he intended all but as *Amusement*, that would help to gain him *Confidence* and fill his own Pockets, you, sanguine as you are in his Interest, won't venture to say that he has been an *Honest* Minister, however *faithful* he may have been to his Master.

But to return to our immediate Point: All the first Designs of your Patron seem'd to be founded on assisting and being assisted by *Holland*. The Plan was natural and necessary; and therefore the Parliament agreed to it by the famous Resolution already quoted of the 23d of *March*. It was well known that if the *Dutch* stood out, there would be no real necessity for our meddling at all; and that it would be impossible to support the War in case we did. We cou'd expect no pecuniary Aids from *Hungary* or *Sardinia*, the only Allies we could reckon upon, and we well knew that *Hanover* would part with no Money.

But while it was thought that your Patron had no views of acting but in concert with

Holland, notwithstanding his hands were strengthen'd by Parliament ; while it was imagin'd that he was pursuing Measures founded on those Principles laid down by the Resolutions of the Commons, the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary* took a happy and unexpected Turn. She became not only successful in her own Enterprizes, but found means to disengage *Prussia* and *Saxony* from *France*. Nay, even that Dictating Court herself became perplexed and entangled to such a Degree, as to find herself under a necessity of offering Terms, and no Unreasonable ones neither, to the Queen of *Hungary*, for saving both her Forces, her Character and Honour.

From that Moment then, the Interest, and consequently the Policy of the *Dutch*, was and ought to have been changed ; and so ought Ours, and would, if any but your adventurous Patron had the Conducting our Affairs. The *Dutch* were no longer in dread of *France* ; they were no longer apprehensive that she would be paid for her Blood and Treasure expended in *Germany* at the Expence of their Barrier. No, Sir, the ancient and wise Maxims for the *Gain of Wealth*, and the Preservation of their own Quiet, were revived in their ample Force ; One of which was, never to engage in War but for the sake of Trade and the immediate Concerns of their own Country : The consuming Wars of neighbouring Nations, made them not only Richer, but more
Powerful,

Powerful, at the same time that they securely exhausted and impoverished the Parties concern'd in such Wars.

In a Word, to be *Safe* seems to be the first Concern of the *Dutch*, and to be *Rich* the next ; and these are the Principles on which all their Political Maxims are founded. You will meet with many very remarkable Passages in that truly great *Dutch* Statesman, Monsieur *De Witt*, on the true Interest and Policy of *Holland*, which are so adapted to their Situation during the present Commotions of the Empire and the Conduct of the *States General*, that one would be tempted to think him still living, and at the head of the Republic.

Monsieur *Van Hoey*, in his Letters and Negotiations, plainly points out the Interest and Policy of his Country ; and suggests no less evidently that he and all true *Dutchmen* ardently sought to preserve the Republic in Peace. " All my Policy, says he, pag. 77. " which is perfectly Simple and Uniform, " is founded intirely and invariably on the " following Maxims : 1. That we are com- " manded to be watchful for our Preser- " vation. 2. To stifle all false Suspicions " and Distrust in their Cradle, by giving " and receiving timely Explications. 3. To " take all possible Methods for preventing " Envy, and the desire of Vengeance. 4. " And to secure the Peace of the Republic, " as far as, humanly speaking, is possible by " the

“ the Virtues of such as are intrusted with
 “ our Government”.

This wise Minister does not say any thing particularly concerning the Trade of his Country, it being understood that to be *Rich* is the second of the two Principles on which all the *Dutch* Policy rolls. But it is evident that all his Maxims, which are the same with *De Witt*'s, tend to Peace and Concord, the true and only Parents of Riches and Trade.

And let me say, Sir, that the *French* Ministers, whom you condemn, p. 6. *for treating Monsieur Van Hoey as a Factor for a Company of Merchants*, have a far juster Notion of *Dutch* Policy than your Patron, who weakly imagined he could sooth or frighten the *States General* from the true Interest and stated Maxims of their Republic.

The *Dutch* may be alarmed for a while, and may arm and prepare for their own Safety and Defence during such Alarm; but when convinced there is no real Danger, they return to their grant Pursuit of Wealth as before. Thus for the *French* to exhaust their Strength on one hand, without encroaching upon them Essentially, and for *England* to neglect Commerce on the other, in order to pursue Fantomes, engage with Windmills and build Castles in the Air, puts them in Possession of all they want or have to ask of Heaven: And such being their Case ever since the Death of *Charles VI.* nothing but down right Frenzy, or the most unwarrantable

table Wantonness could have induced them to drop the Substance in order to catch the Shadow. We will shew then why the *Dutch* went no farther than a moderate and reasonable Preparation, though your *Patron* put his Country to an immoderate, unreasonable and fruitless Expence, after Things took a happy Turn in favour of the Queen of *Hungary*.

The *Dutch* visibly perceiv'd, as all *Europe* did, except your *Patron*, whose Thirst for War would not permit him to distinguish the Interest of his own native Country from that of his M—r's, that the Terms offer'd by *France* to the Queen of *Hungary*, after the Treaty of *Breslau*, and after cooping up two *French* Marshals at *Prague*, would, sooner or later, be the Terms of Accommodation between them, with no material Alteration. They saw, without doubt, as most People did, that if those Terms had been admitted for the Foundation of a Treaty, by your *Patron*, Sir, who alone obstructed the Treaty, that even the Alterations insisted upon by the Court of *Vienna*, and not obstinately refus'd by *France*, might have been obtain'd.

Besides, the *Dutch* were then convinc'd, as I dare say this whole Nation are at present, of the Impracticability of re-establishing the House of *Austria*. They knew, Sir, as well as your *Patron*, while he oppos'd the late Sir *Robert W——e*, what *Interest* and what *Motives* had reduced that ancient Ally. And tho' they knew it was the Interest of
England,

England, as well as of *Holland*, to preserve the House of *Austria*, and even if there was a Possibility of doing it, to raise it to its former Power and Splendor ; yet they were but too sensible, that it was against the Sense of every Prince in the Empire, and of the King of *Sardinia* himself, that such an Event should take Place.

The penetrating *Dutch*, Sir, knew that the Imperial Power, so absolutely necessary towards the Re-establishment of the House of *Austria*, was irrecoverably lost ; that the united Voices that had raised the late Elector of *Bavaria* to the Imperial Throne, were united in Interest, that neither he nor his Successors should become as formidable as his Predecessors of the House of *Austria* had been : That *Prussia*, *Saxony*, and every Prince in the Empire but *one*, were satisfy'd with the Terms offer'd by *France* ; and that even *He*, bluster'd to save Appearances, or in Resentment of an inglorious *Neutrality* that had been forced upon him by *France*, some little Time before ; or more likely, till a favourable Opportunity offer'd, of making some farther *Acquisition* to the *Dominion* he is so partial to, by Way of *Secularization*, or otherwise.

But, Sir, what do you say in Contradiction to the Opinion of all the *Dutchmen*, all *Englishmen*, and even of all *Germans* themselves, whose late Conduct visibly shews, that they think of the House of *Austria* as I do? What do you advance in Contradiction

diction to History and Experience? (a) " It
 " was a just Sense of the Expediency, and
 " even Necessity of having a powerful
 " Prince at the Head of this Confederacy,
 " (the *Germanic* Body) capable of support-
 " ing them in their Rights, by defending
 " their Constitution against the Incroach-
 " ment of Strangers, that induced them to
 " continue the Imperial Dignity so long
 " in the House of *Austria*, as it is very
 " certain that the Power of the House of
 " *Austria*, especially in the last Century,
 " has been chiefly employ'd in maintaining
 " and preserving, as far as it was able, the
 " Dominions of the lesser Powers of *Ger-*
 " *many* from the Incroachments of an am-
 " bitious Neighbour, &c."

I could scarce believe my own Eyes when I read this Paragraph. I read it again and again, to see if there was a Possibility of misunderstanding it; but found that the Sense of it as well as the Phrase, was too plain and obvious to be mistaken. Is it possible, thought I, that any Man who pretends to Candour, or makes any Pretensions to Modesty or to Knowledge or good Sense, should attempt so gross an Imposition on the Public? Is it possible that one who gives the following Character of himself, but three Pages after, should expect that his Readers would overlook his Impositions or rather Effrontery? (b) "But there prevails of late so
 G " strange

(a) pag. 12.

(b) page 15.

“ strange a Humour of forgetting what
 “ ought to be best remember’d, denying Facts
 “ notoriously known, and misrepresenting what-
 “ ever makes against People, that I am o-
 “ blig’d to be more explicit than I other-
 “ wise would.

Who, Sir, could have thought that you
 would so soon forget what you had said but
 three Pages before, and that you were here
 drawing your own Portrait? But such is the
 necessitous Fate of those who embark in a
 bad Cause, and attempt to raise upon a rot-
 ten Foundation. I am sorry, Sir, to lie
 under the Necessity of saying that you could
 not but know, *that the Imperial Dignity was*
so long continued in the House of Austria against
 the Will, the very Grain of the Germanic
 Body, who, had they the Power, would have
 excluded it above two hundred Years ago,
 as they have lately, and will to all Eternity
 if they are not bribed out of their Senses and
 Opinions, by the most forcible Arguments
 of *British* VOTES of CREDIT. I wish, as
 much as you or your *Germaniz’d* Patron can,
 that we may be able, either by our Gold or
 Arms, to resettle the Imperial Diadem in
 the House of *Austria*; but I despair of it,
 because it is neither the Inclination nor In-
 terest of the *Electors*, provided always that
 One of that august College be excepted.

But besides, Sir, you could not but re-
 member that it was the Incroachments of
 the House of *Austria* on the lesser Powers
 of *Germany*, that made way for the Con-
 quests

quests of *France* and *Sweden* the last Century. You could not forget that the famous League between *Lewis XIII*, the glorious *Gustavus Adolphus*, the *States General*, and the *Landgrave of Hesse*, had no other View but to obstruct the Ambition of the House of *Austria*, particularly in the Empire, where the powerful Head employ'd his Power to the Destruction of the Reform'd Religion, of Property and of Liberty. How could you then say, *It is very certain that the Power of the House of Austria, especially in the last Century, has been chiefly employ'd in maintaining and preserving, as far as it was able, the Dominions of the lesser Princes of Germany, from the Incroachments of an ambitious Neighbour.*

The Fact, and I am sorry to say so for your Sake, was directly contrary. The House of *Austria* persecuted the lesser Princes of *Germany* in the last Century, and would have swallowed them up, as it did many of their Brethren for near two Ages before, in so much, that to save themselves from utter Ruin, they call'd in the *French*, the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* to their Assistance. And, Sir, are not the Treaties of *Westphalia* in 1648, such Testimonies of your Prevarication, as might put even your Patron himself to the Blush? — But I have done with this ungrateful Part of my Subject; it being no manner of Satisfaction to me to expose either the Vice or Folly of any Writer, whom I would leave to the Conviction of

his own Conscience, the most pungent Punishment that can be inflicted, if the public Welfare did not require, that those who attempt to impose on the *Public* should be detected and exposed.

It was this Consideration singly, which should be uppermost in every honest Breast, that forced the Pen into my Hand at this Time. I had never troubled myself about your panegyrical Vindication of your Patron, did you not attempt inculcating a Doctrine and Notions repugnant to the true Interest of my Country. I am as much a Friend to the House of *Austria* as your Patron; but I am more a Friend to *England*. I am as much an Enemy as he can be to *France*; but I am not so much an Enemy to *France* as to forget, as he had, the Interest of *England*, while he permitted his Enmity to *France* to take root and shoot up out of the Reach of all Reason.

You are for continuing a *Land War*, for by your Reasoning no other will do, against *France*, till the House of *Austria* be re-established in its pristine Grandeur and Power, at the Expence of that ambitious Crown; and to this End you palliate the *Mistakes*, but wilful ones, of your Patron, who had obstructed a safe and reasonable Peace. But, Sir, what you contend for being impracticable, on the Plan of the very *Germans* themselves, who would never permit the Re-establishment of that House, was it practicable, I am for punishing the
Man

Man who has laid his Country under an absolute Necessity of continuing a ruinous War, without any Prospect of succeeding in the principal View, which was or ought to be the Aggrandizement of the House of *Austria*. He deserves, Sir, to be punished for plunging his Country into such a destructive, expensive War, without Allies, and in direct Contradiction to the Resolutions of Parliament: And his Punishment should be doubled for going these nefarious lengths wantonly, without any sort of necessity, and contrary to common Sense and common Honesty.

Let us hear what Monsieur *Van Hoey* says of the Situation of the *French* in *Germany* the 7th of *January*, 1742, about the Time that your *Patron* took upon him to steer the Vessel of the State. (c) “ It is
 “ certain, that the Imperial Court is not
 “ altogether content with that of *France*,
 “ least of all with the Conduct of M. *Broglio*, because she suspects that the Court
 “ has more at Heart the Re-establishment of
 “ Peace, than the obtaining for her such
 “ a Satisfaction as is reasonable, in regard
 “ to her Pretensions on the Succession of the
 “ late Emperor. They likewise conceive
 “ M. *Broglio* either neglected or avoided making himself Master of *Passaw*
 “ and *Scharding*, when it was in his
 “ Power. The Report is current, that

(c) M. *Van Hoey*'s Letters, pag. 63 and 64.

“ the

“ the Marshal made very strong Represen-
 “ tations, in order to have got the *French*
 “ Troops recalled from *Bavaria*; and it is
 “ very positively said, that the Troops
 “ which have lately left *Prague* will con-
 “ tinue their March directly for this King-
 “ dom.”

But before I part with this wise Minister and true *Dutch* Patriot, let us hear what he tells his Masters, the *States-General*, the 12th of *January*, three Days after that Dis- patch from which I have quoted. (d)“ The
 “ present Situation of Affairs in *Lombardy* are
 “ such, that the K. of *Sardinia*, having
 “ withdrawn the best Part of his Troops
 “ into *Piedmont*, the *Austrians* are no longer
 “ in a Condition to make Head against the
 “ *Spaniards* under M. de Gages, which
 “ creates a new Motive to apprehend, that
 “ while they (the *English* Ministry) flatter
 “ the *Queen* with Promises of enlarging her
 “ Dominions at the Expence of the *Emperor*
 “ or this Crown, by the Continuance of the
 “ War, the Event will but too fatally prove the
 “ solid Reasonings of those who judge, that
 “ there is nothing more necessary or expedient
 “ for the *Queen* in particular, or the Good
 “ of *Europe* in general, than A PEACE,
 “ in which due Care shall be taken of her
 “ Arch-ducal-house.

This last Quotation alludes to the Terms of Peace offer'd by *France* about this Time, which

(d) M. Van Hoey's Letters, pag. 67.

which your Patron obstructed, as he did the Summer following at *Hanau*, when the King of *Prussia* offer'd his Mediation. But who does not see the Soundness of M. *Van Hoey's* Reasoning? Who does see that he has been a Prophet? Is it not manifest, that your Patron, by obliging the Queen of *Hungary* to reject the Offers of *France*, and appearing so immoderately zealous in her Cause, has led her to stake her ALL in a Manner on the Friendship and Support of *England*, and thereby involved this Nation, already much encumbered, in Engagements we can never quit with Credit or Honour, and in an Expence that will necessarily beggar us to support.

But what sets the Presumption of your daring Patron in the most conspicuous Light, is that he prevented the Queen from accepting the Offers of *France*, and undertook such mighty Things in her Favour, without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*, so visibly portray'd by Parliament in their Resolutions. He obstructed the *Peace* when it was visible that the *States General* had resolved to leave that Princess wholly upon this Nation.

Then was the Time that your Patron had a fair Opportunity of easing his Country of a Burden she was unable to bear, of getting rid of Engagements she could never accomplish, and of saving her from the stinging Reproach of being the *Windmill-Fighter* of *Europe*: Instead of which, by tenaciously adhering to his Scheme of War and Confusion, your
great

great Man, has in a manner put our Court and Nation in the Power of her *Hungarian* Majesty, who will no longer sue to our Compassion and Good-nature, but affect to command our Succour, by Threatening, as often as we pretend to Oeconomy or plead Inability, to make up with *France*, and leave us to shift for Ourselves.

Thus, Sir, in Consequence of the rash or corrupt Measures of your Patron, will the Wealth of this Nation be spread over the Face of the Continent, and its Force wasted, without any View or Consideration: And yet what adds to our Mortification is, that as we are unable to raise the Queen to the Pinnacle we promised, nor even to acquire for her an Equivalent for *Siletia*, which we obliged her to part with, she must at last be glad to submit to such Terms of Peace as *France* offer'd above two Years ago, ; or perhaps, to such as *France* shall think fit to allow her. And whenever that time comes, which I fear is not so distant as a true *Englishman* would wish, Submission must be our Lot as well as Her's, and we shall find we have laid out such infinite Treasure only to purchase Infamy and Ruin.

This War you say, pag. 34. *is a heavy Burden on the Queen of Hungary, and her Allies.* 'Tis heavy, intolerably heavy on this Nation, the only Ally the Queen has ; for *Sardinia* is only such because we pay him for being so. *But, you go on, heavy as the Burden is, it is still more tolerable than a rotten*

rotten Peace, which would infallibly Ruin both her and her Allies.—Pray, Sir, what sort of a Peace would you be pleased to call *Sound*, since you will have that to be a *Rotten* one which might be built on the Terms offer'd by *France* and *Bavaria*? The late Emperor offered to renounce for Ever all Pretensions to the *Austrian* Succession; and *France* offered, in Conjunction with the Principal Powers of *Europe*, to Guaranty the Succession in the most explicit Terms.—But, you say, the *Queen* had no Reason to trust to these fresh Guaranties, till she had some Collateral Security for the Performance; and therefore the Emperor must renounce his Alliance, with *France* and give a sufficient Pledge for his Security, &c.

In these few Words you seem to Intrench yourself so as not to be come at; and yet, Sir, allow me to say it, 'tis among the weakest of all the specious Things you say to palliate the unjustifiable Conduct of your Patron, the late Minister.—What Pledge had the Emperor to give for his Sincerity, except *Bavaria*, which the Empire could never see him stript of, nor would ever suffer to be added to the *Austrian* Dominions, already greater than the *Germanic* Body would wish. But he must quit the Alliance of *France*.—Of what Advantage would that be to the *Queen*? The Emperor was a Burden to *France*, and did he quit her Alliance she

H

would

would be eased of that Burden.—But, you'll say, by his quitting *France*, the Empire might be brought to League with the Queen against that Crown. Surely, Sir, you know better than to suppose that the Empire would help to re-establish the House of *Austria* in its former Power or Splendor?—To speak freely, Sir, there never was a more ridiculous Farce than the refusing Peace on the Terms offer'd by *France* and the late Emperor, on a Supposition of forcing that Prince to quit that Crown, that he might induce the Empire to join the Queen in making Conquests on the side of *France*.

But it is your Misfortune, in common with all that have a rotten cause to manage, to be ever flouncing from one Incongruity to another. *She does not*, you say, page 37, *withhold Bavaria from an ambitious Desire of extending her own Power, but as a PLEDGE OF HER BEING INDEMNIFIED FOR WHAT SHE HAS LOST, &c.*—If you expected that Monsieur *d'Andrie*, to whom you inscribe your doughty Performance, would think it worth while to be at the Expence of a Translation of your Letter, and send it to his Master the King of *Prussia*, you must be more a Friend to *France* than I am, or you would never have taken so artful Pains to keep that Prince steady in his Alliance with that Crown. To publish from the Mouth of your Patron, who is supposed still to have the Confidence
of

of his R——l M——r, that the Queen keeps *Bavaria* till she is indemnified for *Silesia*, was a sure Way to keep the King of *Prussia* close link'd with *France*, and at constant Enmity with the Court of *Vienna*, and even that of *London*.

The King of *Prussia* is sensible that an Indemnification for *Silesia* cannot come but from *France*, whom the Queen of *Hungary* and her present Allies are not able to force to part with such Equivalent. His *Prussian* Majesty is likewise sensible that the Empire will never join that Princess against *France*, because 'tis not the Interest of the Members of the *Germanic* Body, that she should be more powerful than she is. Will he not reason then, that the Queen and her *Ally* only wait for an Opportunity of wresting *Silesia* from him? The Conclusion is natural and just from these unguarded Words of yours, Sir; and especially from the Inflexibility of the Queen and her *Ally*, to agree to the reasonable Terms of Peace that were offer'd her. Thus must that Prince have reason'd, when he enter'd into the late League of *Frankfort*; nor could he reason or act otherwise, without being more indifferent to his own immediate Interest, than either Princes or private Persons are known to be.

But that which alarm'd that Prince most, and determin'd him, was the Queen's Refusal of submitting the Dispute to the *Diet*, and not accepting the Mediation of the States of

the Empire, which was offer'd her with the utmost Candour and Benevolence. After this, he might be justified in supposing that she would never lay down her Arms till she regain'd *Silesia* back, or got an Equivalent, which he saw no Power able to wrest from *France*. And really, Sir, in my Opinion, what you urge in Excuse of the Queen for her Disrespect and Diffidence of the *Diet* and *States* of the Empire on that Occasion, rather accuses than exculpates that heroic Princess, misled both then and since by your Adventrous Patron.

“ Could she, (say you, *pag*, 19.) submit to
 “ the States of the Empire the Decision of
 “ that Point, which they had already decided
 “ in the most solemn Manner ; and upon
 “ which solemn Act of theirs her Right is
 “ founded ? Or could she accept their Me-
 “ diation after this their solemn Decision ? ”
 Why not ? What had she to fear from those that had already decided in her Favour ? She must now have a very bad Opinion of the Justice and Integrity of Princes that had formerly declared on her Side, when she could refuse their Mediation. Does it not look rather that she had no favourable Opinion of the Justice of her Cause ? Or that she would not put the Dispute in the Way of Accommodation, that she might have an Opportunity to strip the King of *Prussia* of *Silesia* by the Continuance of the War ? Or more likely, does it not appear that the Queen's
 Re-

Reluctance to submit to the States of the Empire was owing to an Opinion she conceiv'd, that all the Members of the *Germanic* Body look'd upon the Reducement of her House as an Event they should rejoice at.

The Queen was sensible of the Jealousy of the other Powers of the Empire to her House, and therefore dreaded to submit to their Decision; and perhaps she acted, in that Respect, prudently. But, Sir, the Reason is very far from being equally good and solid on your Patron's Side. The Queen's Dread of submitting to the Decision of Powers, because she knew them to be jealous of her Force, should be a Reason with *England* to oblige her to a reasonable Peace, because the other Princes of the Empire thinking her already too great, would never assist to make her greater. So that, taking the Matter in what Light you will, the Queen is inexcusable, if she had no Dread of the Jealousy of the other Members of the *Germanic* Body, not to submit to the Decision of the States of the Empire; and if she had, we are inexcusable in continuing the War to raise a House that all *Germany* is for reducing.

But 'tis high Time to have done with an Author, who sets out with a *Disingenuity*, and varies not from his setting out to the End of his Labours. Pardon me, Sir, for a Freedom I should not have taken with you, or any Man, if the Happiness of my Country did not rest, in some measure, on exposing the

the Politics of your Patron whose Vindication you have undertaken. To charge a Man, and a Gentleman, or Nobleman, for aught I know, with *Disingenuity*, is, I confess, harsh and uncourtly. But, Sir, who are you to thank but yourself for the Charge brought against you?

You saw your Patron *leaving his Post*, as you gently term his being *forced* from it by the general Voice of the People; and would officiously, or was *paid*, for justifying a Conduct that had render'd him obnoxious to the whole Nation. But it being impossible to justify his involving his Country in a ruinous War, unless that War had been *recommended* by the *Representatives* of the People, you set out with boldly asserting, that it was so *recommended*; and therefore, that it is not the *Minister's*, but the *Nation's* War.

This, Sir, was your *first Proposition*; and indeed you could not frame a better; for without this Foundation you could raise no Vindication of your Employer. But it happens unluckily both for you and him, that your *Foundation* was rais'd on rotten Ground, and gave Way as soon as laid. And what surprizes me extremely is, that you should continue your Work, and put yourself to so great an Expence of Words, when you could not but know that your first and fundamental *Proposition* was *false*; and consequently, that all you could say in Support of it would turn to your own Confusion, and Discredit
of

of your Patron. *Discredit*, did I say, of a Man who had no *Credit* to lose? And as for you, Sir, if one may judge of your *Modesty* by this Production of your Pen, we need not apprehend a Change in your Countenance, even when you shall have perused this Answer from me.

Before I conclude, Sir, let me congratulate you on your Attempt of exploring a new Path to Fame. Before your Time, it was unknown that Princes might not only gain immortal Honour to themselves by usurping the Territories of their Neighbours, *but lay such Neighbours under the strongest Obligations*. This is what you mean, or nothing, by telling us, *pag. 28.* how much the late Emperor was obliged to the Queen of *Hungary* for stripping him of *Bavaria*, and his other Dominions, and forcing him to seek Refuge elsewhere, and live on the Charity of the Empire.

These, I confess, are new Strokes of Wit, and such Morality, as none but the Advocate of such a Cause as your Patron's could be capable of advancing. But in the Service of such a Master, one must deal like him, in the *Marvellous*. You are forced to strike out new Reasoning, in order to defend him, as he was necessitated to have Recourse to a new System of Politics, in order to gain Ground in the Cabinet. What else could have induced him to advise carrying the War into the Empire, when *France* was so heartily sick of it there, that she wish'd
for

For nothing more than an honourable Pre-
text of recalling her Troops from *Bavaria*,
which she had by Lord *Stair's* March to
Aschaffenburg. But, as inflaming *Europe*,
and lengthening the War, were the Corner-
Stones of your Patron's Scheme, we are not
to wonder that he would let *France* take
Breath. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

VERA X.

E I N I S.



